

Message Text

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SUBJECT:PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH NAC PERMREPS

FOR AMBASSADOR BRUCE FROM THE SECRETARY

1. AS WAS AGREED WITH SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS, WE ARE FORWARDING THE FOLLOWING RECORD OF THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL AT THE WHITE HOUSE FROM 1600-1700, JUNE 19, 1975.

2. THE MEETING BEGAN AT 4:00 P.M. THE PRESIDENT WELCOMED EACH OF THE PARTICIPANTS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, SAYING HE WAS DELIGHTED TO MEET THOSE HE HADN'T MET BEFORE AND TO GET REACQUAINTED WITH OLD FRIENDS.

3. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE FELT THAT THE NATO SUMMIT IN BRUSSELS WAS VERY SUCCESSFUL, THAT IT WAS VERY GOOD TO HAVE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE TOGETHER, THAT THE REACTION TO THE SUMMIT IN THE
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UNITED STATES HAS BEEN VERY GOOD, AND THAT HE HOPED IT HAS BEEN THE SAME IN EACH OF THEIR COUNTRIES.

4. THE PRESIDENT THOUGHT THAT THE REACTION TO THE TRIP IN THE U.S. WAS BEST REFLECTED BY THE ACTION OF THE UNITED

STATES SENATE FOLLOWING HIS RETURN -- THE ACTIONS TAKEN WITH REGARD TO THE MILITARY AUTHORIZATION BILL. A YEAR AGO, HE SAID, THERE WERE CUTS AND AMENDMENTS THAT WERE HARMFUL TO THE DEFENSE EFFORT. THIS YEAR, THE ATMOSPHERE WAS ENTIRELY DIFFERENT. THE ADMINISTRATION WON EVERY AMENDMENT THAT WOULD HAVE CUT BACK ON OUR DEFENSE PROGRAM, AND WON BY A GOOD MARGIN.

5. THE PRESIDENT THEN STATED HIS CONTINUING INTEREST IN THE SIX POINTS THAT HE RAISED DURING THE BRUSSELS MEETING. FIRST, HE SAID, WE HAVE A CONTINUING INTEREST IN THE STRENGTH OF THE ALLIANCE, STRENGTH IN A MILITARY SENSE. THIS IS OF FOREMOST IMPORTANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES WILL PLAY A FULL ROLE. SECOND, WE ARE INTERESTED IN THE ALLIANCE BROADENING ITS INTERESTS IN AREAS RELATING TO THE STRENGTH OF OUR COUNTRIES, IN AREAS THAT WE FACE AS INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES. THIRD, HE SAID, WE HAVE TO BE REALISTIC ABOUT THE U.S.-SPANISH DEFENSE AGREEMENTS, AND WE HAVE TO RECOGNIZE THE CONTRIBUTION THAT THEY MAKE TO MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS IN EUROPE. ADDITIONALLY, HE SAID, THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD CONTINUE DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THIS CAN BE HELPFUL IN AREAS OF IMPORTANCE TO THE ALLIANCE. HE SAID WE ARE EXTENDING OUR NEGOTIATIONS IN SALT II, THAT THERE IS NO RESOLUTION AS YET BUT THAT WE ARE BUILDING ON THE VLADIVOSTOK MEETING OF LAST DECEMBER. THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS ALSO HAVE SHOWN PROGRESS, AND WE ARE NOW CONSULTING ON THE NUCLEAR ELEMENT.

6. WITH REGARD TO THE EUROPEAN SECURITY NEGOTIATIONS, THE PRESIDENT SAID IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT THERE IS NOW SOME MOVEMENT, AND IF THERE IS AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE HE WOULD ASSUME THERE WOULD BE SOMETHING IN HELSINKI IN THE LATTER PART OF JULY. THESE, HE SAID, ARE AMONG THE PRINCIPAL ISSUES THAT WE SEE OF INTEREST TO THE ALLIANCE, TOGETHER WITH STANDARDIZATION, RATIONALIZATION, AND OTHER MATTERS OF PRESENT CONCERN.

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7. TURNING TO THE MIDDLE EAST, THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT FOLLOWING HIS VISIT TO EUROPE HE HAD TWO VERY FULL DAYS WITH PRIME MINISTER RABIN. THESE FOLLOWED HIS CONFERENCES WITH PRESIDENT SADAT IN SALZBURG. HE EXPRESSED HIS CONVICTION THAT IF WE PERMIT A STALEMATE TO CONTINUE IT INEVITABLY WILL RESULT IN MILITARY CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IF THAT HAPPENS, IT WILL LEAD TO AN OIL EMBARGO. THIS WILL BE FOLLOWED BY THE DEVELOPMENT OF SERIOUS ANTI-AMERICANISM AMONG THE ARAB STATES. FOURTH, HE SAID, THESE

EFFORTS WOULD BRING BACK INTO THE MIDDLE EAST THE SOVIET UNION IN A STRONG WAY.

8. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT TWO APPROACHES ARE BEING CON-

SIDERED. THE SUSPENDED TALKS COULD BE RESUMED AND AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT AGREED TO. IF THAT DOESN'T WORK, THERE WILL BE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO PURSUE A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT WITH ALL ISSUES GOING TO GENEVA. THE UNITED STATES, HE SAID, PREFERS THE FORMER, BUT THE LATTER WOULD HAVE TO BE THE ALTERNATIVE IF AN INTERIM AGREEMENT IS NOT POSSIBLE.

9. SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS, ON BEHALF OF THE COUNCIL, WARMLY THANKED THE PRESIDENT FOR TAKING TIME IN HIS VERY HEAVY SCHEDULE TO FIT IN THIS VISIT BY THE COUNCIL TO THE WHITE HOUSE. HE SAID THE STRONG EVIDENCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S INTEREST IN THE ALLIANCE AND IN THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE HAS BEEN CROWNED BY THE SUMMIT IN BRUSSELS. IN EUROPE, THE GOVERNMENTS, THE PARTIES, THE PUBLIC AND THE MEDIA HAD RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SUMMIT AND SEEN IT AS A GREAT SUCCESS.

10. SECRETARY LUNS SAID THAT THE COUNCIL HAD LISTENED WITH INTEREST TO THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS, TO HIS STATEMENTS ON THE SIX POINTS OF THE SUMMIT ADDRESS AND HIS VIEWS ON THE WORLD SITUATION -- ESPECIALLY THE MIDDLE EAST. HE SAID THE COUNCIL SHARED THE PRE-OCCUPATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT ON WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN IF THERE IS NO AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES, AND HE SAID THAT THE COUNCIL HOPED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S TALKS WITH RABIN AND HIS MEET-
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INGS WITH SADAT IN AUSTRIA WOULD LEAD TO NEW STEPS.

11. SECRETARY LUNS ADDED THE COUNCIL HAD HAD A VERY USEFUL SCHEDULE IN THE UNITED STATES; HE COMMENTED ON THE NPG MEETING, THE VISIT TO VANDENBURG AND THE SAFLANT SYMPOSIUM. HE ALSO EXTENDED THE COUNCIL'S THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT FOR THE PRECEDING EVENING'S CRUISE ON THE SEQUOIA.

12. AMBASSADOR DE STAERCKE, IN HIS CAPACITY AS DEAN OF THE COUNCIL, UNDERLINED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WHITE HOUSE MEETING SAYING THAT IT UNDERLINES THE SOLIDARITY EXPRESSED DURING THE MEETINGS IN BRUSSELS. WITH REGARD TO THE MIDDLE EAST, HE SAID THE COUNCIL WAS AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT. HE ASKED IF THERE IS A CHANCE FOR STEP-BY-STEP DIPLOMACY AGAIN, FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO BECOME INVOLVED AGAIN?

13. THE PRESIDENT SAID THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF WORKING WITH EGYPT AND ISRAEL TOWARD THIS END. HOWEVER, AT THIS POINT, IT WOULD NOT BE WISE TO SEND THE SECRETARY OF STATE ON ANOTHER TWO-TO-THREE WEEK SHUTTLE OPERATION. THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE AN AGREEMENT ALREADY AGREED TO, BUT ONE WHICH MIGHT BE CONSUMATED DURING SUCH A VISIT.

14. AMBASSADOR DE STAERCKE SAID HE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO DISCUSS EUROPE, THE SITUATION IN THE ALLIANCE. ESPECIALLY, HE SAID, THERE IS THE PROBLEM OF TURKISH-GREEK-US RELATIONS. HE SAID THE COUNCIL WOULD LIKE TO HELP THE UNITED STATES, THAT REALISTICALLY, THERE ARE NO GREAT CHANCES FOR SUCH ASSISTANCE, BUT HE WOULD LIKE TO PUT ALL CHANCES POSSIBLE ON THE PRESIDENT'S SIDE. HE SAID THE COUNCIL HAD HEARD OF THE 30-DAY MOVE BY THE TURKS AND HAD HEARD OF THE POSSIBILITY OF A SETTLEMENT WITH THE GREEKS IN THE AUTUMN. BUT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT HAVE TO WORK ALONE. THE COUNCIL IS GRATEFUL, BUT THE SECRETARY GENERAL, WITH THE CONSIDERABLE POWERS OF HIS OFFICE, COULD DO MORE. THE SECRETARY GENERAL WITH NAC CONSENSUS COULD, FOR EXAMPLE, WRITE THE THREE PARTIES TO URGE THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY TO WORK AS FRIENDS AND TO WORK WITH PATIENCE -- AND TO URGE THE UNITED STATES TO GREATER SPEED IN DEALING WITH THE DELIVERY OF ARMS TO TURKEY. IF WE COULD HELP,
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HE SAID, IT WOULD BE OF ASSISTANCE. THE DANGER IS, THAT WHILE WE HAVE UNITY, INTERNAL DIFFERENCES ARE SEEN AS A WEAKENING OF OUR RESOLVE.

15. THE PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT U.S. CONCERN ABOUT CYPRUS AND THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY HAVE HAD THE HIGHEST PRIORITY OF THIS ADMINISTRATION. THE UNITED STATES IS ANXIOUS TO HELP AS BEST IT CAN TO RESOLVE THESE PROBLEMS. HE SAID HE HAD MET WITH CARAMANLIS AND DEMIREL IN BRUSSELS. THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAD BEEN MEETING WITH THE GREEK AND TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTERS. UNFORTUNATELY, HE SAID, WE ALSO HAVE THE PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES OF THE CONGRESS WHICH HAS TAKEN A VERY UNWISE ACTION IN THE ARMS CUT-OFF. THE PRESIDENT SAID HE HAD FOUGHT THAT ACTION SINCE HE HAS BEEN IN OFFICE. THE SENATE TOOK POSITIVE ACTION BEFORE HE HAD LEFT FOR BRUSSELS, AND HE HAD MET THIS MORNING WITH MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS TO SEE IF IF IS POSSIBLE TO GET SOME ACTION IN THE HOUSE. THE PROBLEM IS MORE DIFFICULT IN THE HOUSE THAN IN THE SENATE, HE SAID, BUT WE WILL CONTINUE TO TRY TO GET THE CONGRESS TO TAKE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, AND TO TAKE THIS PROBLEM OUT OF THE TURKISH-GREEK NEGOTIATIONS. ONCE THAT HAS BEEN DONE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY BRING SOME RESOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. SECONDLY, IN

THE INTERIM, THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THERE WOULD BE RESTRAINT IN THAT PART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. RESUMPTION OF ANY MILITARY ACTIVITY WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

16. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER SAID AMBASSADOR DE STAERCKE HAD RAISED AN INTERESTING POINT IN SUGGESTING THAT NATO'S VIEW MIGHT BE MADE KNOWN AT SOME POINT IN THE HOUSE DEBATE,

THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER MIGHT WISH TO KEEP THIS IN MIND, AND THE UNITED STATES MIGHT GET IN TOUCH WITH SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME.

17. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THERE IS NOW THE REALIZATION IN THE HOUSE THAT SOMETHING HAS TO BE DONE, AND HE SAID THAT ANYTHING FROM THE COUNCIL WOULD BE WELCOMED.

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18. SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS COMMENTED THAT HE HAD A WATCHING BRIEF INHERITED FROM HIS PREDECESSOR, BUT SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES HAVE PREVENTED HIM FROM ACTING. THE GREEK GOVERNMENT FELT IT DID NOT HAVE ENOUGH SUPPORT FROM NATO. TURKEY IS DISMAYED BY THE INTERFERENCE OF THE U.S. HOUSE AND SENATE. HE SAID THAT IF HE WERE TO BE OF USE, HE BELIEVED IT WOULD HAVE TO BE WITHOUT CONDITIONS AND WITHOUT PUBLICITY.

19. AMBASSADOR THEODOROPOULOS SAID THAT, SPEAKING FOR GREECE, HE WISHED TO EXPRESS THE GREAT APPRECIATION OF GREECE FOR THE SPIRIT IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES IS TRYING TO HELP BOTH IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ALLIANCE AND IN BILATERAL RELATIONS.

20. HE SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THE MEETING OF THE NATO PRIME MINISTERS IN BRUSSELS WAS HELPFUL. HIS PRIME MINISTER SPOKE TO THE PRESIDENT AND TO OTHER PRIME MINISTERS, AND THESE DISCUSSIONS SHAPED HIS MIND IN A CONSTRUCTIVE WAY. WE ALSO HAVE WITNESSED THE FIRST AND SECOND STAGES OF THE US-GREEK BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH, HE BELIEVED, WE ARRIVED AT A HAPPY SOLUTION IN A POSITIVE WAY WHICH WILL PRESERVE THE INTEREST OF BOTH SIDES. HE EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THE NATO NEGOTIATIONS WILL ALSO BE CONCLUDED IN THIS SPIRIT. GREECE IS AWARE OF ITS GEOGRAPHIC POSITION, AND THAT IT BELONGS TO THE WEST. AS TO THE SUGGESTION THAT THE WATCHING BRIEF MIGHT BE REACTIVATED, THERE IS ONE ESSENTIAL ELEMENT AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL IS VERY WISE IN STRESSING THE NEED FOR CONFIDENTIALITY; WE MUST, HE SAID, AVOID A GREAT SPLASH.

21. AMBASSADOR ERALP, SPEAKING TO THE PRESIDENT, REITERATED THE APPRECIATION OF HIS GOVERNMENT FOR WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS DOING TO SET RIGHT THE INJUSTICE OF THE ARMS CUT-OFF. CONSIDERING THE PRESSURES OF PUBLIC OPINION AND THE PRESS IN TURKEY UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, HE SAID THE MEASURES THAT TURKEY HAS TAKEN ARE MILD. WE ARE, HE SAID, IN A PERIOD OF EXPECTATION, AND WE ARE RELYING ON YOU. AS TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S WATCHING BRIEF, TURKEY HAS ENORMOUS CONFIDENCE AND DOES NOT THINK HE HAS FAILED. THIS BRIEF CONCERNS GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS NOT CYPRUS.

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TURKEY FEELS THAT CYPRUS SHOULD NOT BE RELATED TO THE ARMS CUT-OFF ISSUE.

22. AMBASSADOR SVART, TURNING THE SUBJECT BACK TO THE MIDDLE EAST, ASKED IF WESTERN EUROPE COULD PLAY A USEFUL ROLE AND IF SO, AT WHAT STAGE.

23. THE PRESIDENT SAID HE HAD RESERVATIONS ON THE SUGGESTION THAT ANY ADDITIONAL PRESSURE MIGHT BE USEFUL. THERE IS CLEAR RECOGNITION THAT EUROPE CONTINUES TO HAVE A HUGE STAKE. HE SAID HE REMEMBERED VIVIDLY THE OIL EMBARGO OF 1973 RUNNING INTO 1974, AND THE PARTIES TRYING TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES CAN'T BE OBLIVIOUS TO THIS. HIS GENERAL IMPRESSION IS THAT WE PRESENTLY HAVE SUCH DELICATE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT ANY ADDITIONAL PRESSURE WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

24. SECRETARY KISSINGER ADDED THAT THE ISSUES ARE SO COMPLEX THAT ANY STEP BY A PARTY NOT INTIMATELY INVOLVED WOULD ONLY ADD A NEW ELEMENT OF CONFUSION. IF WE HAVE FAILURE, HE SAID, AND IF WE MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT, IT WILL BE HIGHLY DESIRABLE THAT EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES NOT TRY TO OUTBID EACH OTHER.

25. AMBASSADOR KRAPF ASKED IF THERE IS A REALIZATION ON ISRAEL'S PART OF THE NEED TO GIVE SOMEWHAT ON THE SYRIAN SIDE.

26. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT, IN THE DISCUSSIONS, THE QUESTION OF SYRIA AND ISRAEL MAKING A SUBSEQUENT STEP HAS BEEN DISCUSSED. THE UNITED STATES HAS, HOWEVER, TRIED TO FOCUS INITIALLY TO ISOLATE THE ISRAEL-EGYPT STEP.

27. AMBASSADOR MENZIES SAID THAT THERE WERE MANY WHO WERE SURPRISED AND PLEASED THAT THE MANDATE OF THE UN FORCES WAS EXTENDED FOR SIX MONTHS. WOULD IT BE CORRECT TO ASSUME, HE ASKED, IF THE EXTENSION OF THIS MANDATE WOULD BE

ONE WAY TO GET THE ISRAELIS OFF THE HOOK ON THE MATTER OF A GUARANTEE OF NON-BELLIGERENCE?

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28. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THE DURATION OF ANY AGREEMENT IS A MATTER OF IMPORTANCE. THE EXTENSION OF THE UN FORCES HAS BEEN HELPFUL. IF WE HADN'T HAD IT, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN A DISASTER. THE FACT THAT THE UN FORCE HAS CONTINUED AND THE CONTINUED UN PRESENCE IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE EFFORTS TOWARD A SETTLEMENT. HE SAID THAT BOTH PARTIES

HAVE EMPHASIZED TO THE U.S. THE EXCELLENT MANNER IN WHICH THE UN FORCE HAS PERFORMED ITS RESPONSIBILITIES.

29. SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS SAID THAT TODAY HE HEARD THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD BEEN IN TOUCH WITH SEVERAL GOVERNMENTS -- HE DIDN'T KNOW IF THE UNITED STATES WAS ONE -- CONCERNING A JULY 22 STARTING DATE FOR THE CSCE MEETING. HE WAS SURPRISED SINCE IT WAS HIS IMPRESSION THAT THE FEELING IS IN GENEVA THAT IT WOULDN'T BE HELD EARLIER THAN THE END OF SEPTEMBER.

30. THE PRESIDENT SAID WE HAVEN'T BEEN PUSHING THIS ISSUE. WE HAVE CONTINUED TO FEEL THAT OUR WESTERN ALLIANCE PARTNERS SHOULD BE THE MAIN PARTIES INVOLVED IN DIRECTING THE PACE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

31. SECRETARY KISSINGER SAID THAT THE SOVIET HAD PROPOSED A JULY 22 DATE. THE U.S. POSITION CONTINUES TO BE THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO MEET WHENEVER THE SECOND STAGE IS COMPLETED SATISFACTORILY. WE HAVEN'T ACCEPTED OR REJECTED THE SOVIET PROPOSAL, AND WE WON'T AGREE TO A DATE BEFORE THE SECOND STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE IS FINISHED. YOU SHOULD ALL KNOW THIS SO THAT WE WON'T BE WHIPSAWED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT CONTACTING EACH OF OUR GOVERNMENTS AND SAYING THAT ONE OR THE OTHER OF US HAS AGREED TO THIS OR THAT. OUR INSTRUCTIONS, HE SAID, TO BE COMPLETELY FRANK TO YOU, TO OUR AMBASSADOR IN GENEVA ARE TO STAY A HALF A STEP BEHIND THE EUROPEANS. WE AREN'T PRESSING, AND WE AREN'T HOLDING BACK. UNTIL THE SOVIET UNION MAKES A CONCESSION ON THE QUESTION OF THREE HUNDRED KILOMETERS, BASKET I WILL NOT BE COMPLETED.

30. THE PRESIDENT, INCONCLUDING, SAID IT HAD BEEN A MOST PRODUCTIVE MEETING. IT HAD BEEN A PLEASURE FOR HIM AND HE LOOKS FORWARD TO SEEING THEM HERE AGAIN OR IN BRUSSELS IN THE FUTURE. KISSINGER

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